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lation of Nuku Hiva as 80,000 which is obviously an impossible number. During the early part of the nineteenth century the population declined rapidly as a result of diseases introduced by the European whalers. Du Petit-Thouars, in 1838, estimated the population at 20,000; Houan, in 1850, gave 12,500 as the grand total, and an actual census at the time of Clavel's visit in 1883 showed 4,865. Since that time the decline has been steady but less rapid, the present inhabitants numbering about 3,000, many of whom are Chinese or European half-castes. These half-castes are more resistant to disease than the pure-blood natives and through them the language and fragments of the culture will probably be preserved for several generations. The survival of the pure native stock is doubtful, although in 1920 the natives of the island of Ua Pou, who were only slightly mixed, were holding their own, and those of Ua Huka showed a slight increase in number. The most rapid decline is in the southern islands where intensive European contact is more recent. On one of these islands, Tahu Ata, there are said to be nearly a hundred deaths to every birth. The influenza epidemics, so destructive in Polynesia, did not reach the Marquesas.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RELIGION

An account of the religion and social organization of the Marquesas is given by Handy (32), but a resume is necessary as a background for the present study of material culture.

The natives were divided into a great number of tribes which were for the most part mutually hostile. As a rule each of these tribes occupied a single valley, but several of the larger valleys were occupied by two or more tribes who often fought among themselves, although they usually united against outsiders. Thus in the valley of Tai-pi Vai, rendered famous by Melville's narrative, "Typee," there were three groups of people. One group occupied the head of the valley; a second, the middle; and a third, the lower end. The hostility between these groups was so strong that even after their ostensible conversion to Christianity it was necessary to build a church in each section to prevent fights during religious services. No governmental unit larger than the tribe existed, but there appear to have been shadowy confederacies of several tribes, who combined for action in case of hostilities from other tribes. In Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa at least, there were still larger dual divisions, comprising the eastern and western halves of these islands. The only approach to centralized power appears to have been in the island of Ua Pou, where the inhabitants of one valley had extended their sway over all the other tribes, but even here the autonomy of the conquered groups does not seem to have been seriously interefered with.

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105 648 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

793 105 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspirational priest (*tau'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tau'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tau'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

105 461 Next in importance below the chief and *tau'a* ranked the heads of large families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

105 619 484 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships, and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

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rarily at peace, and some stories indicate that visits paid by one tribe to another were not unknown. Such fetes and visits frequently ended in a general fight, but they gave an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and objects, and tended to break down any cultural differences which may have existed. Still more important factors in the establishment of cultural unity were the local industrial specialization, and the trade which certainly existed in pre-European times. At present it is difficult to determine the extent of specialization and trade. All the larger valleys, at least, were able to manufacture the objects that they used, but because of better materials, or of superior technical skill, particular valleys or islands were recognized as preeminent in the making of objects of a certain class. Thus some stone adzes were unquestionably manufactured almost everywhere in the group, but those made on the island of Ei Ao were of better material and were regularly exported. The great size of the Ei Ao workshops would seem to indicate quantity production, and it is evident that the workmen specialized in the finer and less bulky forms. Similarly the islands of Ua Huka and Ua Pou contained large deposits of rock suited to the manufacture of *popoi* pounders and exported many of these implements to other islands. The natives of Nuku Hiva knew how to manufacture a special kind of yellow paint or dye which was highly valued in the other islands, while those of Fatu Hiva were famed for their skill as carvers. There seems to have been no formal trade; there was no regular medium of exchange and even the existence of definite barter is doubtful. The transfer was in the nature of a gift exchange.

The material culture of the Marquesas as a whole was almost uniform, a fact the more remarkable in view of the dialectal differences between the Northern Division and the Southern Division of the group, and even between different tribes on the same island. The local differences which exist have been pointed out in the body of this report. The long contact between Europe and the Marquesas has resulted in the almost complete destruction of the native culture and the information obtainable regarding ancient customs and materials is often fragmentary. The use of certain objects in museum collections has been entirely forgotten and only the names of many other artifacts are remembered.

SCOPE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The scope of the present paper has been purposely restricted to an account of the material culture of the Marquesas. Certain obvious similarities and differences between the Marquesan culture and that found in other Polynesian islands have been pointed out, but a thorough comparative study has not been attempted. Detailed descriptions of the preparation of food and of the ritualistic observances accompanying the various industries have been omitted. They are discussed by my colleague, E. S. Craighill Handy (32).